

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01 ACDA-05 TRSE-00 XMB-02

OMB-01 CU-02 EB-07 STR-04 BIB-01 OIC-02 CEA-01 /088 W

----- 063719

O R 050700Z JUL 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4337

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 5202

DEPT FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: FOLLOW-UP: SOME RENEWED MOVEMENT

REF: A) GENEVA 5106, B) STATE 158515

1. IN WAKE OF CRITICAL REACTIONS TO THEIR LATEST FOLLOW-UP
INITIATIVE (REF A), FRENCH DEL INFORMED US AND OTHERS JULY
3 THAT THEIR INSTRUCTIONS HAD NOW BEEN MODIFIED TO GIVE THEM
SOMEWHAT GREATER FLEXIBILITY. AS A RESULT IT APPEARS FRENCH
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CAN NOW ACCEPT REFERENCE TO "MEETINGS," OR "GATHERINGS" OR

SIMILAR PHRASES IN THE PLURAL, PROVIDED SUFFICIENT SAFEGUARDS ARE RETAINED IN TEXT TO PREVENT AUTOMATICITY OF FOLLOW-UP AND TO ASSURE CONTROL OVER TIMING, FORM, LEVEL AND PURPOSE OF FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS THAT MIGHT BE AGREED TO ON CONSENSUS BASIS. SINCE THIS IS PRECISELY WHAT MOST OF REST OF EC-NINE AND OTHER AMONG FIFTEEN, INCLUDING OURSELVES, HAVE BEEN SUGGESTING, THE ATMOSPHERE HAS NOW CLEARED AND FIFTEEN WERE ABLE TO AGREE PROVISIONALLY JULY 3 ON FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH, WHICH DANES AGREED TO DISCUSS WITH NEUTRALS AND ROMANIANS:

2. BEGIN TEXT:

BY ARRANGING TO THESE ENDS FOR THEIR REPRESENTATIVES TO MEET, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE AT THIS LEVEL OF REPRESENTATIVES APPOINTED BY THEIR MINISTRIES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN IN 1977 AND FOR THEM TO CONSIDER FURTHER MULTILATERAL CONTACTS AS APPROPRIATE TO THE SITUATION, INCLUDING FURTHER SIMILAR MEETINGS, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF NEW CONFERENCES.

END TEXT.

3. THIS TEXT, AS DEPT WILL NOTE, GOES FAR IN DIRECTION OF ASSURING CONTINUITY DESIRED BY NEUTRALS, I.E., BY REFERRING TO CONTACTS, MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES IN THE PLURAL. HOWEVER, IT ALSO CONTAINS CLEAR CONTROLS OVER FOLLOW-UP PROCESS THROUGH WORDS "CONSIDER" AND "AS APPROPRIATE TO THE SITUATION," AS WELL AS THROUGH CONSENSUS PRINCIPLE IMPLIED IN LATER PART OF TEXT. THIS COMPROMISE MAY WELL BE MORE OR LESS ACCEPTABLE TO MODERATES AMONG THE NEUTRALS. IT WILL, HOWEVER, ALMOST CERTAINLY NOT BE SATISFACTORY IN ITS PRESENT FORM TO ROMANIANS WHO CONTINUE TO INSIST ON AUTOMATIC PERIODICITY OF FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS ON "ANNUAL" OR SIMILAR BASIS. SINCE ROMANIAN DEMANDS GO FAR BEYOND WHAT MAINSTREAM OF EC-NINE, AND WE OURSELVES, CONSIDER DESIRABLE, IT WILL NOW HAVE TO BE ROMANIANS' TURN TO MODERATE THEIR REMAINING DEMANDS.

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4. THE OTHER MAJOR THEME UNDER CURRENT DISCUSSION IS THE FOLLOW-UP MANDATE; I.E. WHETHER FOLLOW-UP WILL BE HIGHLY "POLITICIZED" PROCESS DESIRED BY USSR, OR FOCUS IN IMPLEMENTATION OF CSCE DECISIONS AS DESIRED BY WEST. SOV DEL HAS IN LAST TWENTY FOUR HOURS SUBMITTED COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE LOPSIDED TEXT THIS PARAGRAPH, WHICH FIFTEEN HAVE SOLIDLY REJECTED. ON OTHER HAND,

THE FOLLOWING FINNISH TEXT MAY COME CLOSER TO BEING A
NEGOTIATING BASIS:

5. BEGIN TEXT:

... BY PROCEEDING TO EXCHANGES OF
VIEWS AND INFORMATION BOTH ON IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE DECISIONS/PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL
DOCUMENT AND TASKS OF THE CONFERENCE AND,
IN THIS CONTEXT, ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
PROCESS OF DETENTE, THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS
AND OF RELATIONS AMONG THEM.
END TEXT

6. AFTER LENGTHY CAUCUS THIS SUBJECT FIFTEEN, INCLUDING
US, HAVE PROVISIONALLY AGREED THAT DANES COULD INFORM
USSR THAT WEST COULD, PARTICULARLY FOR PRESENT NOT
REPEAT NOT ACCEPT ANY REFERENCE TO "DETENTE" IN THIS
TEXT, A REFERENCE WHICH SOVIETS VERY MUCH DESIRE,
UNLESS IT IS PRECEDED BY SUFFICIENTLY CLEAR AND SATIS-
FACTORY REFERENCE TO "IMPLEMENTATION" OF CSCE RESULTS IN FIRST PART OF
SENTENCE, AS IN FINNISH TEXT AND
REPEAT AND, PROVIDED THAT POLITICAL OBJECTIVES DESIRED BY USSR
ARE CONSIDERED "IN CONTEXT OF" CSCE RESULTS. ALLIES
AND WE ARE BROADLY AGREED THAT UNLESS BOTH THESE CONDI-
TIONS ARE MET "POLITICAL" MANDATE WILL BECOME TOO BROAD
AND OPEN-ENDED. IN CASE SOVIETS CANNOT ACCEPT "IN CONTEXT
OF" PRESENT FEELING IS THAT THERE SHOULD ALSO BE
NO EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO "DETENTE,"
ALTHOUGH CAUCUS COULD ACCEPT BALANCED REFERENCE TO
"MUTUAL RELATIONS." WE HOPE DEPT WILL GENERALLY SUPPORT
THIS NEGOTIATING APPROACH IF SOVIETS SHOULD ATTEMPT TO
DISCUSS THIS POINT WITH DEPT OFFICIALS.
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7. A FURTHER PROBLEM HAS ALSO ARISEN RE US LEGAL
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE FOLLOW-UP, SINCE SOVIETS HAVE
NOW GONE BACK ON EARLIER TACIT AGREEMENT, I.E.
TO ACCEPT "ARE RESOLVED" ETC. IN PARA 1, AND WANT USE
THIS AND SIMILAR REQUIREMENTS IN OTHER PARA AS
NEGOTIATING LEVER (A) TO POLITICIZE MANDATE AND (B) TO
FURTHER WEAKEN OPERATIVE VERBS THROUGHOUT THIS TEXT TO
FURTHER UNDERMINE ROMANIANS. IN VIEW OF THIS PLOY
NATO CAUCUS HAS GENERALLY AGREED THAT ACCEPTABLE SOLU-
TION OF US LEGAL REQUIREMENTS THIS TEXT SHOULD ALSO BE
PART OF ANY DEAL WITH SOVIETS ON MANDATE.

8. FOR DEPARTMENT AND LONDON: SITUATION IS NOW
OBVIOUSLY MOVING VERY FAST. ABOVE REPORT DESIGNED

PARIMARILY TO CONVEY SENSE IF MAIN LINES ALONG WHICH WE
ARE CURRENTLY MOVING IN CONTEXT INSTRUCTIONS RECEIVED
REF B. IN THIS CONNECTION PLEASE NOTE THAT SWEDISH
TEXT REFERRED TO IN LONDON'S 10280, WHICH WE JUST
RECEIVED, HAS ALREADY BEEN OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS,
SPECIFICALLY BY TEXT CITED PARA 2. DALE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, MEETING REPORTS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975GENEVA05202
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750233-0037
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750783/aaaacvri.tel
Line Count: 175
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 GENEVA 5106, 75 STATE 158515
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23 APR 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <24 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: FOLLOW-UP: SOME RENEWED MOVEMENT
TAGS: PFOR, XG, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006